

PEACE NEWS

No. 267

JULY 25, 1941

2d.

Production and Propaganda

By "VERSA"

There are two things sadly wrong with our conduct of the war, says the House of Commons: our propaganda and our production. They happen to be the two most distinctive departments of modern war. Indeed, we may say that the difference between total war and the limited wars of the past lies precisely in the new importance of these hitherto subsidiary departments. Production and propaganda become as important as military tactics and strategy.

FIRST, production. If the nation engaged in total war does not produce to the very utmost of its capacity, it has no chance of victory. That is obvious; it is admitted by everybody. Why is it then that our production, confessedly, lags far behind what it should be?

The answers are manifold. Some put the emphasis in one place, some in another. But all are agreed that both employers and employed are to blame; and all are agreed, again, that the Government is also to blame for not compelling both employers and employed to act in the national interests and not in their own.

How comes it then that the employers and the employed are reluctant to act in the national interests and not in their own, and that the Government is reluctant to compel them to do so? The answer is really simple. If the employer runs his factory for the sole purpose of maximum production, he fears he will be left in the cart.

MAKING HAY

It often is in the national interest that he should lend his machinery to another factory, or let his skilled men go elsewhere. But obviously he would be a fool to do this, unless the Government will undertake that the future position of his factory is secured. He cannot be expected to jeopardize his future for the sake of the present.

Just in the same way, the worker would be a fool if he forwent the chance of pressing for higher wages, unless the Government will guarantee him the security of a job in the future. If the future is insecure, the employer and the employee will try to secure themselves here and now.

And the only way the Government could overcome this profound reluctance to go all out in a well-organized scheme of national production would be for it to offer both sides security in the future. Without that guarantee both sides must make hay while the sun shines—and make hay incidentally of national production.

But the Government cannot offer security to both sides without a social and political revolution. If the employer is to be secured in his previous rate of profit, the employee cannot be secured in his job and his wages; for in the last resort the power of the employer to get a full day's work out

of the employee depends on his having the power to give him the sack.

If the employer does not possess this power somebody else will have to possess it—and it can only be the State. Security for all depends upon compulsion for all. In this country neither the workers nor the employers want it. Both alike will resist it. And if it is adopted, it may well be asked: What is the difference between this system and the Nazism we are supposed to be fighting?

THAT brings us to propaganda. Here again everyone agrees that if our propaganda is to be effective—if it is to weaken the hold of the Nazis upon Germany and upon Europe—it must be based upon the offer of security to the average man in Germany and in Europe.

The Nazis themselves are offering him security. We say it is a very horrible kind of security—the security of the slave. But the fact is that for most people the security of the slave is better than the insecurity of the "free man" in the modern world. And anyone who has spent even in England some years under the tender mercies of the UAB may well ask what is the difference between that and slave-security.

Thus it is that our propaganda can never be effective unless Britain can offer a better kind of security to the ordinary German and European man than he is getting or likely to get under the Nazis. And we have not merely to offer it. Our successful propaganda during the last war offered a great deal that we made no

attempt to perform. British promises are not worth much in the European market—still less in the German one. Performance is the only thing that will count. If we have in Britain established a better kind of security for everybody than the Nazis have established, we shall be talking sense.

CHANGE THE AIM!

But, as we have seen, we are unable to establish any security of this kind in this country; and it is because we are unable to establish it that our production lags behind the national need. And if we were to establish the kind of security for employer and employed that might enable us to achieve maximum production, we should be establishing a social and economic system which would be indistinguishable from that of the Nazis themselves. Anything really better than this in the moral sense is quite impracticable, if the aim is maximum industrial production for war. For that purpose State compulsion on a grandiose scale is necessary.

What then is the conclusion? Our production is hamstrung because we are reluctant to go Nazi; and our propaganda is hamstrung because we have nowhere better to go. If we want the propaganda that will beat the Germans, we must give up the idea of the production that will beat them. We cannot have it both ways. We are not getting it either way.

The only propaganda that can beat the Nazis is propaganda for peace. And then we could let production—which is only production for war—go hang. It is war that keeps Nazism alive, and will keep it unbeatable.

It was stated by the Daily Herald, July 23, that the further Commons debate on Production has been postponed by the Prime Minister, because he has been unable to digest the mass of material supplied him by the departments concerned. "There is also ground for the belief that Mr. Churchill wants to give further consideration to the widespread demand for the appointment of a Minister of Production before he again faces the House of Commons on the issue."

A UNITED EUROPE—BUT HOW?

WHICH has the better claim to the sympathy of the pacifist—Germany or Russia? Some pacifists nowadays appear to be perplexing themselves with that conundrum; and many of these seem inclined to believe that they ought to prefer Russia, on the ground that Communism aims to establish, in theory, a universal classless society and is therefore super-racial. That of course, hardly squares with the assurance spread by the press that ideologies are not in question and that the Russo-German war is a conflict between Teuton and Slav.

It seems to us impossible for the pacifist to argue that Russian Communism (or Stalinism) is ethically superior to German National Socialism (or Hitlerism). If it be said that Stalinism pursues an ultimate goal of universal peace, it may equally be said that Hitlerism also pursues this goal. Hitlerism proposes to establish world-peace by world-conquest: Stalinism proposes to establish it by universal class-war. In theory, both propose "to wade through slaughter to a throne." Since the Germans are the more efficient, they are likely to do it more quickly; and on the ground that we prefer that "the days should be shortened," we think that Hitlerism has the advantage.

Both creeds inculcate the utmost use of violence in achieving their ends.

The Communist makes no bones about his intention to extirpate the capitalist everywhere; the Nazi is equally forthright about his determination to extirpate the Jew. Both these intentions seem to us morally abominable. And it does not appear in fact that the Nazis have behaved any worse to the Jews than the Communists have behaved to the unfortunate Kulaks. Both systems violate the fundamental axioms of Christianity and democracy. No moral issue at all is involved in the struggle between them. It is simply a giant episode in the huge subhuman process of evolution through war to which mankind is condemned—by its failure to use the machine for the creation of the nationally and internationally co-operative society, of which it was and is manifestly the true purpose of the machine to be the instrument.

Therefore we may consider the prospects as realists without making moral discriminations which are invalid. Whether Communism or Nazism overruns Europe, the large-scale consequence will be substantially the same—the creation by force of a unified Europe in which national wars will be impossible. That in the long run will compel a heightening of the general standard of living. But since what is necessary has already been achieved by Germany, it would seem

PACIFIST COMMENTARY:
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

If Japan Enters The War

THE change in the Japanese Cabinet appears to portend yet another vast extension of the war. But its practical consequences may be less horrible than that. It may compel an even greater concentration of American resources in the effort to secure "hemisphere defence" in the Pacific; and consequentially an even more definite limitation of American commitments toward this country.

America's policy of doing all she can to save Britain from defeat, "short of war," will be crystallized. It will be not only all that the USA wants to do (as it is at present); it will also be all that she can do. And that will be an important clarification. If it is once accepted that the hope of bringing the USA into the actual war cannot be realized except in consequence of direct provocation by Germany (which Germany will strive not to provide) then the possible strategies of a British victory over Germany become severely limited.

A realist might say that, if the Russian armies are defeated, there will be no possible strategies of victory at all. He would argue thus. In the event of a Russian defeat the blockade will be finally broken. The only two strategies that will remain will be (1) unlimited air-warfare and (2) the encouragement of revolutionary movements in the countries of Europe. But these contradict one another. To bomb Europe in order to liberate it is even more self-contradictory than blockading it for that purpose. In that case sooner or later the realization will become universal that there is nothing for it but to cease the war.

False Security

THE realization may come in Britain more quickly than one imagines. It is an amazing fact, but a fact, that an enormous number of people in this country really believe that the war is going to end soon, and with a British victory. This belief is almost an animal reaction to two factors which really point the other

(Continued on page 2)

Things Old & New

THE contributions to the Peace News fund, though still well below the average for the year, are creeping up a little: last week, £23 4s. 2d.

To this we add a further £50, from the sale of the second instalment of "Treasures." That is a welcome reminder of how effective a means of helping the Fund is the domestic treasure-hunt.

Turn out those drawers today. It is a fascinating occupation: digging into one's own past. In the words of Mr. Herbert Morrison, who will not be pleased at our borrowing, "Go to it!"

The Editor

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A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

Continued from page 1

way: the relative immunity from air-raids we have enjoyed this summer, and Russia's enforced entry into the war. The former is interpreted as meaning that Britain has obtained air-supremacy; the latter as meaning that Russia has come to our rescue. Both interpretations are fantastic; but they are widely entertained.

The shock of disillusion that will come if and when Germany puts Russia out of action, and is able to resume, with vastly increased resources, her air-attacks on this country, will be very great; and the reactions to the concrete situation will be incalculable. One could almost believe that the stars in their courses have been bent, this summer, on inveigling Britain into a sense of false security. While the bloody conflict of nine million mortal men on the Russia has come to our rescue. Both enjoy a sunshine holiday. The cosmic dramatist is a master of irony.

The War in Russia

A VIVID indication of the nature of the mighty battle in Russia is given by the German announcement on Saturday last of the capture of Novograd-Volynsk. If my reader will look at their maps they will see that this city is no less than 130 miles east of Kiev, which the Germans claimed to have captured several days before. Novograd-Volynsk may have been no more than one of the "pockets of resistance" which necessarily emerge by the method of attack which the Germans have perfected, pressing forward to the utmost wherever they can find an opening, careless of "threats to their communications" which would have paralysed a commander in the last war.

The aim of the Germans is single: by pressing on relentlessly at innumerable points to disintegrate the Russian armies. This they claimed to have done on Monday last. They then said that the Russian armies were already broken up "into over 150 more or less isolated parts of various sizes, each largely dependent for its supplies on what it possesses, and having no effective connection with any central directorate or source of supplies" (Times, July 21). There is a possible converse to this picture, in which the German armies would themselves appear disintegrated. But, on the whole, despite the pertinacity of the Russian "defence in depth," it looks as though the Germans are the masters of the situation. Stalin's assumption of the supreme command indicates a crisis.

A Crude Speech

THE Prime Minister's recent speech, opening to the war-stricken inhabitants of this country the evil vista of unlimited reprisal bombing, has caused uneasiness in the Masters' Lodge at Balliol.

It is one thing to be convinced, as I am personally, that it would be senseless to ask for favours or compensation from the enemy we are fighting or to imagine that at this hour a pact could be made curbing the sav-

ageries of war by international agreement; it is quite another thing to lay ourselves open to any suggestion that we would not ask for compensation if we truly got it at less than the cost of blood and tears or would not welcome new curbs to methods of war if they could be imposed.

That appeared in the Manchester Guardian (July 18) and is signed E. Lindsay: not the Master of Balliol, indeed, but his wife. It is at least a merited rebuke to the moral crudity of the speech. No doubt it would be senseless to ask favours from the enemy; as it would be senseless for him to ask for favours from us. But what right have we to say it would be senseless to imagine that a pact could be made curbing the savageries of war? Such pacts are now in existence; they are observed by both sides. They govern, for example, the treatment of prisoners of war. And the sanction on which they are based is exactly the same sanction as would apply in the case of an agreement to refrain from deliberate civilian bombing. "If you break the pact, so will we."

The Politics of it

A WRITER in the Glasgow Bulletin (July 19) considers Mr. Churchill's speech not for the moral issues it raises but purely as a matter of practical politics. It appears, he says, to those who read Mr. Churchill's words that he had accepted a theory of the war "which some feel exceedingly depressing"—namely, that bombs and blockade will win the war by themselves.

But think what this is likely to mean—not for the Germans, but for other peoples. For ourselves, of course, bombing continued "year after year" is likely to mean not only a long war, but an immense amount of destruction in British cities so long as bombers can fly at all. But for occupied Europe, even if most of our attacks are concentrated on Germany and Italy, it may mean something worse from our point of view—the loss of hope among those who are our secret allies, a feeling that this war is simply a private slogging match between Britain and Germany, perhaps a growing feeling that Vichy is right in accepting "collaboration" with the Nazi conquerors.

It is only fair to add that the writer (Mr. J. M. Reid) adduces these considerations only to enforce his demand for "heavy blows on land." But if, as it appears, Britain is unable to deliver these heavy blows, the argument remains. Moreover, the supposition that most of our air-attacks can be concentrated on Germany and Italy is obviously impracticable. France and Belgium in the nature of things are bound to suffer as much as Germany or Italy. The argument is really much stronger than Mr. Reid dares to put it.

Government Changes

THE changes of Government personnel announced on Monday last are certainly not such as will silence criticism. Indeed, their apparent irrelevance to the dissatisfaction which is now being freely expressed is the most striking thing about them. Mr. Duff Cooper and Mr. Harold Nicolson are conspicuously put on the shelf and as plain an intimation as can be given that the Prime Minister considers that all the propaganda Britain needs is his own.

Nothing whatever is done to allay the misgivings of those who are convinced that a central control and planning of war-produc-

tion is urgently necessary. Probably, these critics underestimate the obstacles in the way of the change they desire, and treat as a purely technical problem—of "production engineering" as it is called—one that involves quite radical social and economic changes.

Meanwhile, by the inglorious combination of "laissez-faire" and capitalistic "control," the small shopkeeper is to be forced out of business. No shopkeeper who cannot persuade 25 people to register with him will receive supplies. Just think of the effects of this one regulation in the dehumanizing of economic relations in this country; or pragmatically, from the politician's point of view, of how many centres it will create from which will radiate a sense of social injustice.

"Freedom"

I GATHER from the New Statesman that at the recent Oxford Conference of the National Peace Council the Bishop of Birmingham put more forcibly the contention which has often been put forward in these notes: that the "freedom" for which Britain claims she is fighting has very little reality in the actual life of the mass-man today. "What does 'the freedom to live your own life' mean (the Bishop asked) to the mechanic working on the conveyor belt? Was it any wonder that many of our workers, whom modern scepticism has robbed of their hopes of the next world and big business of their hope of this, should turn in their bewilderment to totalitarian ideas?"

The Bishop's question related to the negative character of British propaganda. What has Britain to offer the peoples of Europe which can be set against the existing reality of a totalitarian Europe? The formulation of a positive alternative requires a clarity of thinking, and a purgation of the mind from illusion, of which there is no visible evidence. Moreover, even supposing that the best intelligences we have could be set to the task of devising the pattern of a human Europe, it would be merely theoretical. Unless it really existed in Britain it would be folly to expect the peoples of Europe to endure years and years of war in the hope that a British theory might be realized.

Poland

HITLER, says the Daily Mail (July 16), is contemplating the establishment of an autonomous Poland, in which will be included the Eastern provinces occupied by the Russians. Germany will retain the corridor and part of Silesia; but the Poles would be given an outlet to the sea through part of Lithuania. Hitler, says the report, has already gathered the personnel of an exclusively Polish government headed by Professor Rostorovsky formerly a judge of the Hague Court. The new Poland would be free in respect of its internal affairs, but under German "protection" in foreign relations.

Since the "independence" of Poland, however much we may promise it, is as much a back number as the "independence" of any other European country, the real problem in regard to Poland is simply whether it will enjoy whatever autonomy it can get under Russian, or German, or federal control. Federal control belongs to the dim and distant future, though we may hope it will come to that one day. Russian control is now out of the question. There remains as a practical possibility German control. But poor Professor Rostorovsky, who is no doubt as good a Polish patriot as anybody, will assuredly be denounced

as a quisling for his acceptance of the inevitable.

Rights of Man

I AM happy to report that by a unanimous vote the National Council of the PPU has adopted the declaration of the Rights of Man, which was drafted under Mr. Wells's inspiration, as "a reasonable statement of the minimum liberties" required in any tolerable society. The declaration is to be regarded as an acceptable legal and judicial expression of the minimum political rights involved in the four "affirmations" of the PPU. No totalitarian regime can possibly accord these rights without ceasing to be totalitarian. By adopting them, as an indispensable minimum, the PPU equally condemns Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia; it also condemns, though less categorically, the actual conditions in British democracy.

One of the immediate consequences of adopting this charter should be to check the tendency to regard the Soviet system as somehow intrinsically superior to the German. From the point of view of the PPU they come under the same condemnation. A remoter consequence may be to remind people that in the modern world it is not formal systems of government, or abstract principles, that are of prime importance—"democracies" may and probably will offend against these principles as much as "autocracies"—but the concrete statutory liberties that can be secured to the individual man.

Trickery & Dishonour?

THE Bishop of Chelmsford, writing in the Chelmsford Diocesan Chronicle (July 21) says:

I could shake hands with a non-praying Stalin; but I should beg to be excused from doing so with a Petain, Darlan, Mussolini, or Weygand who can go happily to Mass with trickery and dishonour in their hearts. It is more religious to repudiate openly all religion than to manipulate it to the fashion of these nominally Christian nations.

The Churchill Legend

THE growing waves of disquiet concerning the deficiencies in the organization of supply come noticeably nearer to lapping the Prime Minister's foundations of sand. His obvious impotence of criticism in the House of Commons and his irritable condemnation of Sir J. Wardlaw-Milne's statement that production was only 75 per cent. of the possible as disheartening to America and encouraging to Germany show that the Churchill legend is beginning to fade. No doubt the process will be slow, and it will be accomplished only as the practical shortcomings of his leadership become apparent.

His deficient understanding of the process of contemporary history, now being worked out in war, is a representative deficiency: it is shared by the vast majority of the people whom he leads. So also, to be quite fair, is his deficient understanding of the nature of total war. He is, indubitably, the representative Englishman of the last year and a half. When he is discovered to have been a blind leader, something deep in the make-up of the contemporary Englishman will crack.

"A GREAT ACT OF DARING FAITH"

THIS phrase was used by Mr. Austen Chamberlain in 1921 with reference to the grant of self-government to the Transvaal. "By a great act of daring faith they conferred upon our recent enemies in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, on the morrow of our victory, full self-government," said he. "I voted against them. I thought it a rash and wicked thing to do. If we could have seen further into the future, if I could have voted in that division with the knowledge I have today, I should have known that that great act of faith was not, as I thought, a destruction of our policy, but its completion and its fulfilment."

And Sir John Simon, speaking in the House of Commons on November 27, 1922, referred to this great phrase as he rose to support Mr. Lloyd George in his motion to confirm the Irish Free State Constitution. The House of Commons, he said, by confirming that constitution was taking that bold step which was described by Mr. Austen Chamberlain as "a great act of daring faith."

What India wants today is that the British statesmen should take that bold step, not only, as they did in 1922, in the interests of justice, but also in order to put Britain straight with this world and to justify her professions.

Harijan, Feb. 3, 1940.

Y Traddodiad Heddwch Yng Nghymru. gan Iorwerth Peate.

Dyma'r rhifyn gyntaf o gyfres Pamffledi Heddwch Cymru a gyhoeddiir gan Waer Gee yn Ninybch am 3c. Nid oes yn Nghymru gwr gymhwysach i'r testun na'r Dr. Iorwerth Peate fel llenor, hynafiaethydd, a Chymro hyddysg yn hanes cymdeithasau gwirfoddol a chrefyddol ei wlad. Mwy na hyn, perthyn i dras a traddodiad Samuel Roberts Llanbryn-mair, heddwchwr mwyaf eiddo a chyswion ei gwlad. Dengys yr awdur i wreiddiau'r traddodiad heddwch fynydd yn mhellach yn ol na chywri fel S.R. a Henry Richard, at genadwri Morgan Llwyd ac amryw o'i gyddegyr yn mysg y Crynwyr Cymreig. Fe ddengys hefyd datblygiad cenadwri efengylaidd y ddeunawfed genrif yn gymdeithasol yn y Seiat a'r Gyfeillach fel moddion lloches a lefain i'r holl fywyd. Buddiol iawn fydd astudiaeth newydd o'r hanes yn y dyddiau hyn, yn enwedig gan Heddwchwr a sylweddolad eu bod yn Ymceilltuwyr, heb fawr o nododd gan Sennedd na Sassiwn. Diddorol iawn hefyd yw hanes yr Heddwchwr a gadwasant y Cyfamod Heddwch yn rhyfel olaf a theilwng yw rhwymor dystiolaeth ar feddwl a chalon Heddwchwr heddyw.

G.M.L.D.

RED RAIN

IT seems just as well that the Government has not made a clear statement of its war aims. Like a wise parent it will not promise what it cannot fulfil, and it has to keep changing its mind about what to promise.

The important thing is, apparently, that the war must go on. It doesn't much matter whom we kill so long as we keep killing—as if it were a series of fixtures arranged by some hideous League of Death.

1. Britain and France and Poland (combined team) v Germany, with Russia as reserve.
2. Britain v Germany and Italy.
3. Britain v Germany and Italy and France.
4. Britain and Russia v Germany and Italy and France.
And so on.

Unfortunately the fixtures have clashed; Poland, for instance, is now playing two teams at once.

Recent events at home and abroad have shown the blatant, indecent cynicism with which this war is being conducted. "We are all in it this time," we are told, "rich and poor alike." This time there is to be no profiteering, no hoarding, etc.

Some time ago it was possible for moderate incomes to purchase a few expensive tomatoes. Now tomatoes are cheap, but most people cannot buy them. The reason, explains Lord Woolton, is the increased demand. The Lord of Food declares, furthermore, that if people are fools enough to spend seven shillings a pound on raspberries he does not intend to stop them. However, if there are enough

fools, there will be no raspberries for the wise.

Meanwhile we are battenning on Russian blood. No decent pacifist can fail to admire those of his own countrymen who with deliberate selflessness offer their own blood on the battlefield; but to sit back in complacent enjoyment while someone else dies in torment—such a capacity for pleasure reveals a perfection of ghouliness which Nero might have envied.

That, unfortunately, is what many of our countrymen are doing now. And, strangely, they are often kindly people.

There is no doubt that our leaders have been placed in a difficult position. It is rather like having to field for a bowler wearing a pair of pin stripes and cloth cap; he may take all the wickets, but it isn't cricket. We should like to think that though he is playing against the same team as we he is not playing with us.

Most of our leaders, of course, have hitherto tried to deny Nature. The Russian was somehow constitutionally different from the Englishman; he was one of the "lesser breeds without the law." He was, in fact, a particularly nasty foreigner.

Red was a colour abhorrent to bulls and to John Bull; an emblem of danger; the sign of bawdy districts in dirty foreign cities (which one knew, of course, only by repute). Yet not even the most thoroughbred of Tories can exist without his red corpuscles.

by L. J. Goodburn

"How that red rain has made the harvest grow!" exclaimed Childe Harold, as he stood gazing at the field of Waterloo, its scars already healed. This time it is Red Rain indeed. Our anti-Bolshevik democrats raise their faces to the shower, bathe in it, and are refreshed.

The cloud has spread. It darkens the sky from the Arctic to the Black Sea. Everywhere the Red Rain is falling; it has brought back life to us, at least for the moment.

But no photographs, please! Let it not be recorded that a British general has shaken hands with a Red! Play the National Anthems of France and Poland, as well as God Save the King. Add Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Abyssinia, but do not add The Internationale. "It is a question of time." We should have to cut into a variety programme, or The Week's Good Cause. Besides—

Besides! Might not Shylock's words answer for Russians too? Have they not hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? "Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons? If you tickle us, do we not laugh?" (though one cannot imagine the Chief Tory Whip tickling a Commissar). "If you prick us, do we not bleed?"

They are bleeding now; and every drop of Red Blood deepens the shame of a country which, having taken the path of violence and slaughter, accepts with indecent, ungracious glee the offering of Russian corpses.

Let Us Be Practical

THERE has been rumour abroad again of a possible German Peace Offensive. Any possibility of negotiation must be encouraged by pacifists. It is therefore essential that we realize fully the implications of such a move.

When people say we support a policy of "peace at any price," we try to deny it and endeavour to explain constructive peace-time policies; we conjure up pictures of a world we (and everybody else) would like to see; we embark on irrelevant arguments concerning the responsibility for the war and British imperialism; but we cannot truthfully deny the allegation. But why should we? After all, most people seem to support a policy of "war at any price."

We may do everything in our power to discover a way whereby the price may not be too exorbitant, but so long as we refuse to support war in any circumstances, we must mean we are prepared to pay the price demanded for peace. Therefore, if there is a chance of making peace with Nazi Germany, however distasteful the system may be to us, we must encourage it, vowing to ourselves that when it is attained our utmost effort will be used to change, by pacific means, those elements of the system against which the decent instincts of mankind revolt.

FEDERATIONS

One of the surest ways of eliminating war is to make the economic and political units larger and less numerous, with the eventual goal of world federation in mind. This can be achieved in two ways. It might be by a method of mutual co-operation, whereby countries join the federation and forego their national sovereignty because they realize it is to everyone's advantage that they should. Secondly, it might be achieved by one Power becoming so strong that it is in a position to impose the system upon not necessarily willing neighbours.

Of these two methods the first is infinitely preferable. But what are

the chances of its application? One can hardly imagine the British Government, in the event of victory, abandoning its navy and national sovereignty in exchange for a federated Europe. And in view of its championing the causes of various countries and its promises to re-establish their national independence after the war, it is unlikely that it will impose a system of federation.

THE ALTERNATIVE

It has already been suggested that Hitler will announce the federation of Europe, to be organized and administered under the iron heel of Germany. Let it be said now that the ruthless oppression and inhumanity which will be lavished by the Nazi rulers of Europe on that unhappy continent, are not in the slightest degree to be condoned. But one must accept it as an alternative to the continuation of the war. For that is what negotiation at this juncture would mean. Let us not delude ourselves: a negotiated peace at this time would be an expression of Britain's willingness to co-operate with Hitler's federated Europe. But the pacifist, realizing this terrible implication, must nevertheless advocate such a peace if he does not intend to renounce his faith.

I contend therefore that it is the duty of the pacifist to engage in no more fancy thinking, forget his dream castles of wonderful new orders based on mutual good will and the innate goodness in all men, and replace his Bible on its shelf—unless he is prepared to admit the immediate implications of his faith. It is not sufficient to cry "stop the war," and then say, "well they won't anyway, so we need not think further." If we say, "stop the war," we have a moral duty to try to discover what sort of circumstances would ensue if our cry were heeded, and what our answer would be to the ensuing reign of tyranny.

ROY T. DAVIDSON

GROUP NOTES

Area Development

By JOHN BARCLAY

AT the meeting of the National Council of the PPU last weekend it was unanimously decided to pursue an active policy of area development. To this end a Development Committee is being elected, and I have been appointed by the Council to undertake the work of National Development Officer. I accepted this post after long and careful consideration, because I have faith that the good relationship existing between me and the groups is capable of supporting this greater national effort without loss or strain.

The next few months will show whether you are prepared to follow the lead which is now about to be given. It is the intention to call conferences as soon as possible in all the areas, and to waste no time in obtaining the closest co-operation of all active members. There is latent in the country a very real desire to find a more practical method of co-operation and through this a more coherent expression of pacifist thought.

The machinery which I am hoping to build up, with your enthusiastic support, will be simple but all-embracing. It will be designed to hand over to the areas a much greater degree of responsibility and of local autonomy as soon as the area organization is able to function. My aim will be to encourage and help where I can as well as to assist actively in the formation of new Dick Sheppard Centres and the welding of group and regional ties.

FINANCE

Now that the principle of area development has been accepted, finance becomes a matter of personal concern to every member. No longer will pennies go into a box marked "PEACE," but into a fund that will be administered by a national committee

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:
I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained, is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

for the direct assistance of national and area work. Your voice will not only be heard, but recorded, and your efforts, however small or varied, will be co-ordinated in a national plan.

To the work that I have undertaken I will devote my whole and undivided energy. It will bear fruit if I can have your support as I already have the backing of the National Council.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

Blackheath and Charlton. The group is establishing a Dick Sheppard Centre, consisting of one large room and a kitchenette, at 146 Blackheath Hill (Formerly Lansdowne Place). All those who can possibly help by donations, or by regular weekly contributions (some people have offered 6d. a week) toward the maintenance of the centre, are asked to do so. Furniture is also urgently needed—one or two armchairs, sofas, lots of cushions, mats, bookcase or shelves, mirror, radiogram and/or piano; as well as a large number of upright chairs (ideally, of the stackable or folding variety). The room needs to be adaptable for small group meetings and for larger meetings and lectures. If you have anything that you think would help, please send a postcard with a clear description of it to Beryl Chapman, 2 Talbot Place, S.E.3.

Meetings will in future be held at the centre on Tuesdays at 7.15 p.m. Future programmes include a talk and films on IVSP work (July 29), and reports on National Delegate Conference on India (August 12). The centre will be officially opened on September 6 at 4.30 p.m.

Subscriptions will now be allocated to four different funds: 1. Group Fund; 2. Relief Fund (for helping COs and others); 3. Centre Fund; 4. General donations. Members are asked to state to which of these they can contribute and how much they will be able to give weekly. The joint secretaries of the

C.O.s in Agriculture

by

ARTHUR W. PAGE

An article appeared some weeks ago in Peace News, written by "a Community Chairman," surveying the position of COs in agriculture, with much of which I am in agreement. But the writer made one or two complaints which I find it difficult to endorse. Since I feel that I may have come into rather more intimate contact with some of the problems than the writer of the article I should like to comment upon them.

I am a farmer's son, born and bred in a farming community, but by training and profession a teacher. Since last summer I have been back on the land working under a County War Agricultural Executive Committee as "a CO in Agriculture."

"COMMUNITY Chairman" complained that the Government is silent about the work of COs on the land. I do not think many COs are perturbed by this.

It is obvious that a Government whose primary concern is the conduct of the war will not and cannot give official public recognition to the work which is being done by those who object to the war. And surely sincere COs are the very men who do not seek such recognition, but are content in the knowledge that they are doing work of permanent validity and doing it well.

URGENT JOBS

It is true that COs are frequently given "the hardest, most monotonous, and least gratifying jobs," but it is only fair to add that there are several good reasons for this. These jobs are frequently the most urgent ones, and apart from COs there is no-one to do them. Then again they are generally the least skilled jobs, and the majority of COs are quite unskilled. In any case my own opinion is that COs can do the cause of pacifism most good by showing that they can do the hardest jobs without squealing.

I must admit that I was quite amused by "Community Chairman's" list of examples. He condemns "bush-pulling, hedge-trimming, ditch-digging and clearing" and speaks highly of "harrowing, threshing, potato picking, and sugar-beet pulling." I have worked and tallied with a great many COs and agricultural labourers, and the universal opinion is that while the work in both these lists is hard, the jobs in the first group are interesting and satisfying, while those in the second group are irksome, wearying, and boring. I am tempted to conclude that the writer has not had much experience of these jobs.

With regard to the personal treatment of COs, it is undoubtedly true

group are Alan and Winifred Eden-Green, 2 Talbot Place, S.E.3.

Northampton. The Northampton Region have issued a "bumper" summer number of their Regional News Sheet at the price of 2d. It contains articles by Sybil Thorndike, Lord Ponsonby, and Rhys Davies, MP, as well as four pages of reports from groups in the region. There is a poem by Eric Swift, of the Leicester Group, and book notices. I hope that everyone interested in the production of first-class group news sheets and regional newspapers will write to the editor, J. M. R. Studholme, 24 High Street, Olney, Bucks, for a copy, enclosing 3d. to cover postage.

J.B.

Hackney. An article by the area organizer, Donald Port, entitled "What Now?" is a feature of the June-July issue of Amity, the magazine of the Hackney Group. The group has arranged a full programme of study. Every Wednesday night will be given to a consideration of the course advocated in An Outline for Pacifist Study, and on Fridays attention will be given to a variety of subjects in turn. The programme of these is published in Amity.

C.O.S IN U.S.A.

The "Non-registrant" in America is the equivalent of the "absolutist" CO since only conditional exemption is legally granted. On 102 non-registrants, up to some weeks ago, sentences of imprisonment have been passed—of which 83 are for periods of a year or more. 10 sentences of 2 years have been inflicted, 5 of 3 years, and 2 of 5 years.

Over and above these there are approximately 125 other "non-registrants," some of whom have subsequently registered; others have been placed in mental homes, and the rest have not yet been dealt with.

One exceptional case is that of a young man who did not register in order to witness the first game in the season of his favourite baseball team, as he had done for the past ten years. Having seen the game he surrendered himself and registered.

that in many districts there is good cause for complaint. At the same time it is merely ridiculous to say that officials "treat COs as farm labourers, and ignore or suppress the mental qualities and individualistic tendencies with which COs appear to be endowed."

Those COs who have been directed to work on the land and have accepted this order have to all intents and purposes been exempted from military service on condition that they become farm labourers for the duration. I do not quite see how they can expect their new employers to treat them as so many teachers, accountants, and artists!

I have unfortunately worked with a few COs who were proud of their mental qualities and individualistic tendencies. Their method of expressing these was to walk about the field reciting passages from Shakespeare with appropriate dramatic gestures, while the rest of us did their work as well as our own. Add to this the fact that they had so little interest in their work and so little honest common-sense that they could not be trusted to perform the simplest jobs, and you will appreciate what we felt at having to work with them; not to mention the feelings of the labourers who were not COs.

IDENTIFICATION

I would not for a moment suggest that COs should accept unfair conditions without complaining. If the conditions of payment or accommodation or provision of tools are obviously unfair then it is equally obvious that protest should be made.

But it seems to me that if we have any real feeling for the state of the agricultural workers in this country and for the cause of pacifism here and everywhere, then both these feelings can be expressed by the same line of conduct. We must identify ourselves as far as possible with these workers and show them and their employers that we are not afraid to do so.

In this way, and only in this way, we shall win knowledge and experience of the conditions of work which we hope to see improved, and at the same time build up a new respect for the cause of pacifism which we represent. Incidentally, one of the few gleams of hope that I find in the present gloom is the remarkably clear thinking of nearly all the farm labourers I meet on the subject of this war in particular and war in general.

To return to the employment of COs, I would agree that the key to the whole position at present is the lack of standardization of working conditions. I think a good first step would be for someone with more time and ability than myself to compile a report of the conditions now obtaining. I can only contribute the details of conditions under which we work.

We are paid the standard agricultural wage, with the standard probationary period, which is frequently reduced in the case of anyone who shows ability. We work the usual hours—50 hours per week at present—and lose no pay for wet time, although we do no work then. We are provided with rubber boots and excellent tools, and no reasonable request for tools or equipment is ever refused. We receive an adequate travelling allowance, and in case of sickness we are paid at the usual rate for three days and must then apply for National Health Insurance.

Lastly, and most important of all, the labour officer and all Officials with whom we come in contact treat us with extreme courtesy and friendliness and imply that we are placing them under an obligation by doing this work and not that we are doing it to escape the wrath of the local tribunal!

I do not imagine that these conditions are universal, but there must be many who are treated in similar fashion and I repeat that it would be most interesting to have a comparative table of conditions of work as a preliminary step to urging the Minister of Labour to bring pressure to bear on those committees who are the worst offenders.

I can find no better final ambition than that expressed by "Community Chairman." "May our heads be in the skies of idealism, our hearts high with courage and hope, but our feet planted firmly on the good earth."

Letters to the Editor

PACIFIST SERVICE

MAY I be allowed to say something of Birmingham pacifist service? The months of comparative quiet have been used to build up a rescue squad, fully trained and equipped by the City whilst retaining its independence; and the staff for a mobile canteen—a canteen which the City has offered to lend us. We have also been able to get convenient quarters. So that now we are ready for anything. The rescue squad, indeed, has already earned high praise from the City Engineer for work well done.

At the moment we are giving some eighty pacifists, both men and women, an opportunity for propaganda through service. We need still more, and any pacifist who is keen to work with us should get in touch with the secretary 221 Pershore Road, Birmingham 5.

All service is unpaid. Not only so, but we try to be self-supporting, by ourselves contributing toward running expenses. This, however, does not relieve us of all financial anxiety, and before we can enlarge the scope of our work and direct it into more constructive channels, we need gifts from sympathizers. These should be sent to the treasurer, 10 Weoley Hill, Birmingham 29.

The secretary will be only too glad to give more information about our work to anyone who is interested.

HENRY WHITTAKER

Chairman
Birmingham Pacifist Service Committee

A few days' leave last week and an urge for a tonic, decided me on a flying visit to the West House at Kettering (referred to in *Peace News*, June 13).

Accompanied by a young mother and her 44-months-old baby (who have twice been bombed out) we arrived to find a real home-from-home and a warm and smiling welcome from our two hostesses. Loving and capable hands whisked the baby away and she was soon crooning in her bath while the mother, relieved of maternal cares, settled down to a few weeks' real rest.

Three other guests from the East End who had arrived only an hour or so earlier were already quite at home.

There is urgent need for a second perambulator, kiddies' picture books, and toys. Any offers?

Imitation being the sincerest form of flattery, may I urge other groups (situated in comparatively "safe" areas) who may be suffering from a frustration complex as to "what they are going to do about it," to form similar rest homes, which are so urgently needed. Edith Thompson, 38, Lewis Road, Kettering, will be glad to supply information to any interested groups. Hats off to her and her group for this grand job of really constructive work.

In conclusion may I quote Mary Gamble:

What a far cry from all this poignant beauty
To the dark slums and alley-ways of life.
Where men and women live and work in
squalor.

Torn and embittered by an endless strife,
O, God of Pity, touch my heart, and as
I feel thy Beauty's stern and sweet caress,
Help me resolve afresh to do my part
To build thy Kingdom in the wilderness.

CHARLES STUART

"The Good Companions,"
37 Athenaeum Rd., N.20.

"The Heron," and other poems. From P.P.U.
Headquarters.

The PPU shows a laudable zeal in trying to help all and sundry in the ways most needed. Here is an appeal to women workers (but it may have already been suggested).

I have been moving about, and in great need of various mending and altering jobs to my wardrobe. At home and in quite five other places, I have been totally unable to get such work done. People want new clothes and again new. But now—coupons won't allow of always buying new.

We can't all sew: I am more addicted to book-craft than to needle-craft. I can just do a bit of mending, but never have succeeded in making even a blouse. However, in despair I seized upon scissors and an ordinary silk frock and, after six shots, made it quite new into an (HMS) pinafore pattern, never before seen on sea or land. (But Joan Bell, of the Community Shop, admired it!) And I did retrim a hat.

In sympathy with other helpless folk, I propose that *Peace News* should request every branch to invite one or two members to offer for this service. Let us call them the CRU—Clothing Repair Union. Don't mention *Peace*. If this effort were launched all over the country at once, how people would respond in gratitude! Half the profits might go to the Red Cross or refugees.

N.H.M.

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The Organization of the P.P.U.

AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

THE principle that the healthy development of the PPU must be associated with a progressive effort toward decentralization of the organization—under the name of "area development"—has long been accepted in theory. During the past few months, on the initiative of a committee of area representatives, steps have been taken to carry the principle into practice. At a meeting of the National Council on May 17-18, a motion was adopted whereby one-fourth of the income of the PPU should be definitely allocated to area development and a larger committee (called the Development Committee and composed of area representatives and an equal number of nationally elected Council members) should devise the best means of employing the income thus allocated.

This involved a reorganization and a reduction of Headquarters staff, and the formulation of a definite scheme of area organization. At a meeting of the National Council on July 19-20, the detailed recommendations of the Development Committee were considered and adopted. A permanent Area Development Committee was appointed to supervise and control the working of the new scheme, and John Barclay unanimously chosen to be National Development Officer, working under the direction of the new committee on lines broadly laid down in the scheme. The appointment of part or full-time area development officers is contemplated, as is also the establishment of area offices.

It is believed that this reorganization of the PPU marks an important

stage in its development. To it, over a period of some months, much of the best energy of the members of the Council and the Executive has been devoted, necessarily to the postponement of other matters. The Chairman expressed the unanimous desire of the Council in calling for wholehearted co-operation in the working of the new scheme, so that problems of organization may be regarded as settled and the thought of the PPU be once more directed to its true business—the education of the public and of the movement itself into the necessity of peace.

The Adelphi

The July issue of the *Adelphi* (The Oaks, Langham, near Colchester, 9d: 10s. per annum post free) contains tributes to Max Plowman by Charles Raven, Hugh I.A. Fausset, W. B. Wordsworth, and J. H. Watson, the new Warden of Langham. The many who desire to possess some permanent memorial to one of the noblest leaders of the pacifist movement should lose no time in securing copies of this issue. They should moreover make a point of ordering the *Adelphi* monthly through their *Peace News* distributor. John Middleton Murry has resumed the editorship of the magazine, which he relinquished to Max Plowman some three years ago.

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ACCOMMODATION

CARE and two rooms wanted for lady suffering premature senility? good terms.—Reply H 40 Randolph Avenue, W.9.

HOUSE to let, furnished or unfurnished, outskirts N. London; suit family or small "community."—Box 854, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARRIED couple, teachers, need temporary or permanent accommodation in or near York from beginning September; anything from large bed-sitter to small cottage.—Box 858, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MODERN house, garage, garden, safe side of Brighton, would be let to comrade at very reasonable rent.—Particulars from Melhuish, Courtfield Annex, Ealing, W.5.

PACIFIST COUPLE, little boy (2½) want reasonable but simple accommodation in country, mid-August to mid-September, community, farm, or private house. Will pay £3 per week to include meals and will help with light open-air work.—Reekie, 9 Temple Fortune Court, N.W.11.

PACIFIST COUPLE require urgently unfurnished house, bungalow, or self-contained flat, Pinner district.—Box 855, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

TO LET: good size house. Four bedroom, dressing room. Two reception rooms, bath-room and full-size garage. Charming position facing Green, close to Hampstead Heath and shops. Rent £110 per annum exclusive. Keys with agents as below.

TO LET: Georgian type residence. 3 beds, 2 reception rooms, bath, good gardens. High position in Hampstead Garden Suburb. Rent £70 per annum. Exclusive of rates. Keys with agents below.

TO LET: Small cottage type house. 4 bedrooms, 2 reception rooms, kitchen, scullery and bathroom. Close to Hampstead Heath. Good position. Rent £65 per annum exclusive. Keys with agents as below.

TO LET: Modern House with good size rooms. Four beds. 2 Reception rooms, kitchen and bathroom. Full-size garage. Close to Hampstead Heath and shops. Rent £85 per annum exclusive. Keys with agents below.

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For full particulars of the above properties apply McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44, Market Place, N.W.11. Speedwell 9888 (3 lines).

EDUCATIONAL

KIDSTONES Co-educational School, Bishopdale, Leyburn, Yorks., situated in a quiet Yorkshire Dale; large productive garden; happy self-dependent children; Academic subjects, Art and Music taught by qualified staff; moderate fees; all ages.

LEARN to write and speak for peace and human brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, intuitive and individual gifts, correspondence lessons 5s. each (Also small classes 1s. 6d. each). Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill-road, London, N.W.3.

ADVERTISEMENTS

EDUCATIONAL (Cont.)

SHERWOOD SCHOOL, Epsom. Co-educational school for children from 3 years; graduate staff mainly drawn from a Community of Friends who are alive to the urgent need of educating for a changing world.

FOR SALE & WANTED

CARRIER Cycles for tradesmen, carriage paid, all complete, thus ready to use, £7 13s. Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

WANTED—Honey: English, imported, packed or bulk. Also canned and bottled fruit. Frith, Health Centre, Fleetwood.

LITERATURE &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. REAL NEWS is given in *Inside News-Letter*, the bright fortnightly survey of world affairs. Read it and pass it on to the man-in-the-street as an antidote to the daily papers. Specimen from: New Vision Publications, 22 Seafield Rd., N.11.

MEETINGS &c.

ANARCHISM, War, and Social Reconstruction. Public meeting, Co-op Hall, Rye Lane, Peckham, 7.30, Monday, July 28; Frederick Lohr, P.P.U. members encouraged to attend.

SITUATIONS VACANT

IRONMONGERS' Assistants wanted immediately for North Wales towns. State experience, wages required, and if disengaged.—Box 857 *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

KAY'S BOOKSHOP, Bramley, Nr. Guildford, requires assistant (single), cyclist; adaptable; live in; C.O. unconditionally exempt.

SKILLED MASON wanted urgently for about a month's work on old farmhouse being reconditioned as hostel for evacuated children. Standard wage, live in, fare paid.—Massey, Beer, Dulverton.

THE ADELPHI CENTRE, Langham, nr. Colchester. A willing helper (woman) able to cook, is urgently needed to assist in the kitchen at "The Oaks," now being used as a hostel for evacuees.—Write the Secretary, or phone Boxed 200.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. TEACHER, man, 29, threatened dismissal L.E.A., requires teaching post September; conditional exemption (present occupation); subjects, Science (Honours Physics Degree), Mathematics, Physical Training.—Box 856, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

DAMAGED and bombed furniture repaired and reconditioned; all classes of hand-made furniture and carpentry work undertaken.—Stephen Smith, 344a, High-road, Willesden, N.W.10.

FITTER and turner seeks new position; nine years' experience; tribunal exemption. Go anywhere, single.—Box 849, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

COMMUNITY SCHOOL will be available for few paying guests during children's summer holidays from August 2–September 18. Delightful house and large grounds on Hants-Berks border; simple vegetarian food; terms 3 gns. weekly.—Alderwood House, Greenham Common, Nr. Newbury, Berks. (Tel. Headley 209).

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